

TWILIGHT IN ITALY

AND OTHER ESSAYS

D. H. LAWRENCE

EDITED BY
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INTRODUCTION

Almost as soon as D. H. Lawrence left England for the first time in May 1912 he began to record his reactions to the foreign. His journeying furnished him with material for accounts of German-occupied Metz, a hail-storm and flirtation in a village in the Rhineland and a walking tour through the Tyrol. The following winter spent at Lake Garda in northern Italy was equally productive but his travel writings were more focused. His amplification of these essays in 1915 and the addition of others made up the volume which, after revision in proof in early 1916, was called *Twilight in Italy* – his first travel book. At first impressionistically, and then with rapidly increasing confidence and intellectual daring, these essays of 1912–16 go well beyond the bounds of the conventional travel sketch – especially the essays of 1915 which were profoundly charged by the disorienting anxieties of the War. The prophetic newspaper article, ‘With the Guns’, written upon the outbreak of war in early August 1914 and based on an artillery practice Lawrence had witnessed the previous year in Bavaria, signals the change. But all the essays were part of his continuously evolving meditation on culture, English as well as foreign, during that period of intense and remarkable development which saw him finish *Sons and Lovers*, write or fundamentally revise the stories for *The Prussian Officer* volume, finish (but declare he must write again) the ‘Study of Thomas Hardy’ and ‘The Crown’ (published in part in 1915), bring to completion *The Rainbow* and turn, two months after finishing the proofs of *Twilight*, to his first full version of the novel which would become *Women in Love*.¹ Throughout this period – if most obviously in the travel genre where the presence of the writer in the narrative is a convention – biography and text feed off one another symbiotically. With the relationship between the sexes as its touchstone, Lawrence’s ever-deepening cultural diagnosis weaves through the fiction and non-fiction alike, no less through his private letters than his formally public writings.

This volume establishes a reading text of the German and Italian essays of

¹ See Chronology for dates; and, for their compositional histories, the Introductions to the respective Cambridge volumes (listed in Cue-titles, pp. xviii–xix – ‘The Crown’ is in *Reflections* – and *The Prussian Officer and Other Stories*, ed. John Worthen, Cambridge, 1983).

1912–16; but it also recognises and seeks to document in Introduction, Explanatory notes and Textual apparatus the contexts out of which they arose. The autobiographical *Mr Noon* especially, but also the first two volumes of Lawrence's *Letters* and, to a lesser extent, *Women in Love*, all draw on his travel in this period and are frequently cited. The essays are presented in the order of their writing and rewriting:

- 1912 In Fortified Germany
 - I. The English and the Germans (previously unpublished; the title is editorial)
 - II. How a Spy is Arrested (previously unpublished)
 - III. French Sons of Germany
 - Hail in the Rhine-Land
 - A Chapel Among the Mountains
 - A Hay-Hut Among the Mountains
 - Christs in the Tyrol (i.e. the second version as published in March 1913; the superseded first version of September 1912 is printed in Appendix I)
- 1913 By the Lago di Garda
 - I. The Spinner and the Monks
 - II. The Lemon Gardens of the Signor di P.
 - III. The Theatre
- 1914 With the Guns
- 1915–16 *Twilight in Italy [Italian Days]*
 - The Crucifix Across the Mountains (a rewriting of 'Christs in the Tyrol', second version)
 - On the Lago di Garda
 - I. The Spinner and the Monks (a rewriting of its 1913 counterpart in 'By the Lago di Garda')
 - II. The Lemon Gardens (ditto)
 - III. The Theatre (ditto)
 - IV. San Gaudenzio
 - V. The Dance
 - VI. Il Duro
 - VII. John
 - Italians in Exile
 - The Return Journey

The travel essays of Germany and the Tyrol, 1912

By 12 January 1912 Johanna ('Hannah') Krenkow (1874–1945), sister-in-law of Lawrence's maternal aunt Ada Krenkow (1868–1944), had invited Lawrence, who was then convalescing from a serious bout of pneumonia, to visit herself and her husband, Karl, in Waldbröl, where they had moved in 1911 – a 'tiny village stuck up in the Rhineland' northeast of Bonn (i. 350, 409).² With medical advice that he should abandon teaching (i. 337) and with some evidence that he would be able to make his way as a professional writer,³ Lawrence decided to make a clean break with his earlier life, withdrawing from his engagement to Louie Burrows on 4 February 1912 (i. 361), resigning from his teaching post on 28 February (i. 369) and devoting himself to the completion of 'Paul Morel' (the novel which would become *Sons and Lovers*) before setting out for Germany.

Then in March 1912 Lawrence met Frieda Weekley, the wife of Ernest Weekley, Professor of French at University College, Nottingham where Lawrence had been a student. Daughter of Baron Friedrich von Richthofen (1845–1915), she had been brought up in the formerly French city of Metz where her father was a garrison administrative officer in the occupying Prussian army. By 22 April Lawrence's plans for his German trip included Metz (i. 385): Frieda intended to be there for the celebration of her father's fifty years of army service. They travelled together to Germany on 3 May. In Metz, with Frieda staying with her parents and Lawrence at a hotel, they had to pose as distant friends (i. 392). At that stage, Frieda had probably not decided to leave her husband for Lawrence:⁴ she had had other affairs. But when Lawrence wrote to Weekley revealing the liaison ('I love your wife and she loves me', i. 392), the issue was brought to a head – and doubly so when Frieda had to inform her father of the situation when Lawrence was nearly

² This is the form (volume and page number) by which references to *Letters* volumes i. and ii. are given in the text.

³ *The White Peacock* (January 1911) had been favourably reviewed; Edward Garnett, reader for Duckworth, had encouraged DHL to revise his second novel, *The Trespasser* (it was to be accepted by Duckworth in March 1912); the *English Review* had published stories, poems and reviews, and Garnett had for placement several other stories; two poems had been published by the *Nation*; DHL had begun a revision of *Sons and Lovers* the previous November; and Martin Secker had expressed interest in a book of short stories and Heinemann in a volume of poems (see *Letters*, i. 373, xxvii–xxviii, 345 n. 1, 321, 323 and n. 1, 275, 335).

⁴ Cf. DHL's letter to her on 6 May, complaining that he would not see her that day: 'if you put up your fingers, and count your days in Germany, and compare them with the days to follow in Nottingham, then you will see, you ... are selling sovereigns at a penny each' (*Letters*, i. 391); and John Worthen, *D. H. Lawrence: The Early Years 1885–1912* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 393–408.

arrested as a spy: 'Mrs Weekley and I were lying on the grass near some water – talking – and I was moving round an old emerald ring on her finger, when we heard a faint murmur in the rear – a German policeman. There was such a to-do. It needed all the fiery little Baron von Richthofen's influence – and he is rather influential in Metz – to rescue me. They vow I am an English officer'.⁵

Lawrence soon made his near-arrest (on 7 May – the day before he had to leave Metz 'quick', i. 395) the subject of a newspaper article, 'How a Spy is Arrested'. This was one of four that he had written by 16 May when he sent them to be placed by Walter de la Mare, Heinemann's reader, who had been arranging a proposed volume of Lawrence's poems.⁶ Lawrence included the articles with some poems, explaining: 'I wonder if any of this stuff . . . would be any good to the *Westminster*, or if anybody else would have it. I don't know the papers a bit . . . would you mind offering the articles to somebody you think probable. I am reduced to my last shilling again . . . so I must work' (i. 405). The other three were 'The English and the Germans' (the title has been editorially supplied), 'French Sons of Germany' and 'Hail in the Rhine-Land'. De la Mare's efforts were successful, and Lawrence received galley proofs of one article by 3 July and another two by 8 July (i. 422, 424); but the fourth, 'How a Spy is Arrested', was rejected by John Alfred Spender (1862–1942), editor of the *Westminster Gazette*, 'as being too violently anti-German'.⁷ It is published here for the first time – as is 'The English and the Germans' which, though set in type, Spender did not

⁵ *Letters*, i. 394–5. For Frieda's version of events, see her "Not I, But the Wind . . ." (Santa Fe, 1934), pp. 25–6. It may be, as Worthen argues, that, far from having trouble clearing DHL's name, the Baron used the incident as a way of removing him from the scene so as to be able partially to rescue Frieda's reputation (*Early Years*, p. 399). But the competitive arms build-up by 1912 had made for considerable sensitivity on the matter of suspected spying, and on 6 August 1912 the *Westminster Gazette* reported the arrest of five Englishmen caught taking photographs of the German coastline and of 'torpedo shooting stands' (p. 8). They were released on 8 August.

⁶ *Letters*, i. 370–1; Heinemann had published *The White Peacock* and had options on DHL's next two novels and a volume of poetry.

⁷ 'D.H. Lawrence's German Sketches/ *Please keep!* That in MS has been refused by Spender, as being too violently anti-German.' – as noted on the envelope which enclosed the 11 pp. of autograph manuscript (on squared paper, 22 x 28 cm, written on one side only). Else Jaffe's address in Wolfratshausen is on the verso of p. 11 – presumably as a forwarding address. The manuscript was discovered in Heinemann's archives in 1986 with uncorrected galley proofs of the other three articles (Lazarus; not in Roberts). The first proof begins 'PROOF TO MR. DE LA MARE'. Evidently when he sent one copy of the three sets of galleys to DHL he retained duplicates and the rejected manuscript. The other manuscripts were not returned to DHL (*Letters*, i. 447) and are lost. DHL's later impression that 'The English and the Germans' was also rejected as 'too anti-German' (i. 443) is not borne out by the above note (but see p. xxx and footnote 21); a discussion of the reasons for rejection appears below.

subsequently use.⁸ 'French Sons of Germany' appeared on 3 August in both the *Westminster Gazette* (a daily, established in 1893 and selling for a penny) and, without change, in its special Saturday (magazine) edition, the *Saturday Westminster*, of the same date. 'Hail in the Rhine-Land' was published in the same manner on 9 and 10 August respectively. They were republished in *Phoenix* in 1936 with the series title 'GERMAN IMPRESSIONS' from the *Westminster Gazette*.⁹

The exact dates of composition of the four articles are unclear. Lawrence had proceeded further up the Mosel River to Trier on 8 May and stayed till the 11th, before moving on to the Krenkows' at Waldbröl, with Frieda remaining in Metz. His letter to de la Mare indicates that he was in sore need of running expenses, so he must have thought that quickly written pieces for newspapers might serve his purpose. Some years later George Neville, a friend whom Lawrence had visited before leaving England (25–31 March 1912), recorded Lawrence's saying at the time: 'I've had an offer to go abroad and do some descriptive pieces – Austrian Tirol and so on'.¹⁰ There is no evidence to confirm this, but it is quite possible that his friend and literary mentor, Edward Garnett, or someone else (perhaps de la Mare) had put such an idea into Lawrence's head. His trip was to be an extended one and it needed financing (i. 368), and all the more urgently now that he was entreating Frieda to join him in Trier: he would soon have to be supporting her as well (i. 394, 401, 402).

Although all the sketches set in Metz – 'The English and the Germans', 'How a Spy is Arrested' and 'French Sons of Germany' – create the impression of having been written there and on the days of the events described (5–7 May), some phrasings in letters to Frieda of 8 and 9 May, from Trier, are echoed in 'French Sons' which suggests he had just written it (or would soon do so).¹¹ But also in the letter of 9 May he announced: 'I have written a newspaper article that nobody on earth will print, because it's too plain and straight. However, I don't care' (i. 396). While 'French Sons of Germany' describes the daily tensions of life in an occupied region, it is not

⁸ DHL apparently did not learn of this till August 1912 when de la Mare asked him where he would like the two rejected essays submitted (*Letters*, i. 443). In his next extant letter to de la Mare (i. 447) DHL did not take up the offer.

⁹ *Phoenix: The Posthumous Papers of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. Edward D. McDonald (New York: Viking, 1936), pp. 71–81. Viking reissued in 1968 and 1972; the Heinemann edition from the same plates was published in 1936, and reissued in 1938 and 1961. Footnote 13 explains the series title.

¹⁰ *A Memoir of D. H. Lawrence: The Betrayal*, ed. Carl Baron (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 155–6.

¹¹ See Explanatory note on 17:36, and cf. 'past a Madonna ... stuck with ... lilac' (18:5–7) with 'past a madonna stuck with flowers' (*Letters*, i. 396).

trenchant in tone. It is more likely that Lawrence's irritation stemmed from his just having written 'How a Spy is Arrested' (which Spender would indeed decline to print). Essay numbering in manuscript and galley proofs suggests that Lawrence wrote 'French Sons of Germany' soon after: 'IN FORTIFIED GERMANY./ I.' (galleys of 'The English and the Germans'); 'In Fortified Germany/ II. How a Spy is Arrested.' (manuscript); and 'French Sons' is 'III.' (but without the series title in galleys; see Textual apparatus). This sequence places the composition of 'The English and the Germans' in Metz – either the late afternoon of 6 May or the morning of 7 May before Lawrence and Frieda's walk to the fortifications (described in 'How a Spy');¹² and it argues the need for this edition to restore 'French Sons of Germany' to the series, 'In Fortified Germany', as number 'III.'¹³

In a letter to Garnett a fortnight later Frieda confessed: 'it's fearfully exciting when he writes and I watch while it comes'.¹⁴ She was probably referring either to Metz or Trier where she visited Lawrence on 10 May (i. 396) – in which case he was writing 'French Sons of Germany' on that day. Lawrence's next reference to his writing is in a letter to Frieda of 13 May, two days after arriving in Waldbröl: 'Once they [the Krenkows] let

¹² Certainly 'The English and the Germans' betrays no anxiety about DHL's near-arrest. It is unlikely he had written the essay on 5 May – the 'Sunday' at 10:6 – for at 9.15 a.m. on 6 May he wrote to Frieda that he would walk till 2.30 p.m. (probably the walk recounted in 'French Sons') and then 'I can work as soon as I like' – suggesting that he had yet to start (*Letters*, i. 391). Frieda was involved in her father's celebrations on 6 May and did not see DHL (i. 391). After the near-arrest on 7 May he 'tried so hard to work – but I cant' (i. 393). He left Metz the next morning.

¹³ 'The English and the Germans' and 'How a Spy is Arrested' are linked by their series title, and given that 'How a Spy' is 'II.' in manuscript and the first had no individual title (see Textual apparatus), DHL was evidently developing the idea of a series as he went. The number 'III.' in the title of the 'French Sons' galleys, together with its setting in Metz (as are 'I.' and 'II.'), probably indicate that DHL neglected to repeat the series title in the manuscript of 'French Sons' (or that it was ignored). If so, then when 'How a Spy' was rejected, the series title would have been lost sight of at the *Westminster Gazette*, and 'In Fortified Germany/ I.' became simply the name of a sketch. 'Hail in the Rhine-Land' (which is set elsewhere) could have been slotted in as 'II.' (as on its galleys). Before its publication (without 'The English and the Germans'), the series was renamed 'GERMAN IMPRESSIONS' (this does not appear on the galley proofs) and 'French Sons' renumbered 'I.' The series title was left off the following week's printing of 'Hail', even though its 'II.' was confusing without it. DHL probably checked the proofs but it is unlikely that he provided the new series title: collation shows he made no other alterations (or they were not incorporated). As a likely newspaper convenience, it is rejected.

The *Westminster Gazette* paid DHL £4.13s. which he received just prior to the proofs, by 3 July. This was probably for the three sketches rather than the poems he mentions in the same letter, which were not published as he expected (*Letters*, i. 422, 424).

¹⁴ The undated letter which she had evidently sent to DHL, now in Waldbröl, for forwarding was enclosed with his letter to Garnett of 21 May 1912 (*Letters*, i. 410).

me begin, I shall knock off quite a lot of work'.¹⁵ He was wanting to get started on his revision of 'Paul Morel', and by the 16th he would be working 'quite hard' at it (i. 404). But in the early evening of the 15th (i. 404), he experienced the hailstorm described in 'Hail in the Rhine-Land'.¹⁶ He must have written that 2,300-word sketch later the same evening or the following day, enabling him to despatch it with the other three articles to de la Mare on the 16th.

'The English and the Germans' starts ramblingly but soon finds a focus as Lawrence explores the implications of a contrast (offered by 'a friend' – presumably Frieda¹⁷) between English and German soldiers. The meditation which follows, concerning 'the split that exists in the English nature between the senses and the soul' (8:18–19), is his first extended attempt to take stock of his culture in the series of essays and longer studies that eventually included his 'Foreword to *Sons and Lovers*', 'With the Guns', 'Study of Thomas Hardy', 'The Crown' and *Twilight in Italy*. Frieda's ideas cannot have been the only stimulus. During his illness the previous winter Lawrence had stressed to correspondents how changed he felt (i. 360, 361 and n. 2) – a change accelerated by the freedom of discussion and manners he soon experienced at the Cearne with Edward and Constance Garnett, in the early months of 1912 and by his anticipating now the need in letters home to defend his liaison with a married woman (i. 409). Lawrence was having to think beyond the stymied desire for passional fulfilment he had tried to deal with in *The Trespasser*: there was an urgent personal need to find perspective. His effort in the essay is one of diagnosis. His borrowed contrast between the soldiers of the two nations is left behind as he begins to explore what he senses is an English tendency towards self-sacrifice and the valuing of material security over 'life' – 'this strange, perverted will to destroy ourselves' which the Germans, who are not so 'old' a nation, have not yet developed (9:22, 10:2, 8:7).

While Lawrence was in Waldbrol his letters to Frieda show him trying to come to grips with the imminent, decisive change in his life; and he pleads for their reunion to be delayed to give him time for this. Frieda evidently answered (by 16 May) giving him details of a brief affair she was having in

¹⁵ *Letters*, i. 399. 'I write in the morning,' he continued, 'when one is wonderfully sane' – probably a description of his habit, not a report of what he had already been doing in Waldbrol.

¹⁶ See Explanatory note on 24:16.

¹⁷ 7:17; cf. 'How a Spy is Arrested': Anita [Frieda] was 'discussing life seriously ... She was ... deep in her sad philosophising' (11:10, 15–16).

his absence (i. 404). Tepid though it is, the romantic element in 'Hail in the Rhine-Land' (which tallies with Lawrence's professions to Frieda and Edward Garnett that Hannah Krenkow was 'getting fonder and fonder of me', i. 406) may have been a gesture of tit-for-tat, but kept within the confines of a conventional travel sketch.¹⁸ Spender's publishing of this essay is as understandable as his rejection of the first two 'In Fortified Germany' ones: the over-philosophical first one, 'The English and the Germans', did not answer the expectations of its genre for observation. But a political issue they raised was probably of more significance. In its capacity as 'more or less an accredited organ' of parliamentary Liberalism,¹⁹ the *Westminster Gazette* was campaigning for understanding of the German point of view, chiding other newspapers for sensationalising trivial incidents of English-German discord and quoting at length from 'articles in the "Nord und Sud" review, in which Dr. Ludwig Stein has inaugurated an Anglo-German entente campaign'.²⁰ And in the column next to 'French Sons of Germany' there was printed a long review of *Thomas Hobbes: der Mann und der Denker* by Ferdinand Tönnies. In this atmosphere, reference in 'The English and the Germans' to a possible German attack might have been considered alarmist, and the lampoon on German officiousness in 'How a Spy is Arrested' an irresponsible endorsement of a stereotype.²¹ Lawrence could scarcely have submitted the two essays to a less likely publishing outlet: as he had said to de la Mare, 'I don't know the papers a bit'.

On 24 May, surer now in his own mind, Lawrence went to Munich to rejoin Frieda. The next day they went south to Beuerberg for their 'week's honeymoon' (i. 414), before setting up house for the first time together in the flat of Alfred Weber, the lover of Frieda's married sister Else Jaffe, at Icking in the Isartal.²² Fretted by having to bear with the effects on Frieda of Ernest Weekley's appeals for her to return 'and give her life to her husband and her children' (i. 420-1) and disgusted by William Heinemann's rejection of the

¹⁸ The 'Johanna' of the sketch, then, is not Frieda – though that is her fictional name (from one of her middle names) in *Mr Noon* – but Hannah Krenkow.

¹⁹ Stephen Ross, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain* (1984), ii. 10. The newspaper's founder was Sir George Newnes (1851-1910); he had been a Liberal M.P. One of its directors in 1912 was his son, Sir Frank Newnes (1876-1955), Liberal M.P. 1906-10.

²⁰ *Westminster Gazette*, 25 May 1912, p. 12: 'England Germany', unsigned.

²¹ 'The English and the Germans' also refers to Germany as 'the more brutal nation' (9:15) and lists its 'worst national characteristics' (10:22). The review of the Tönnies volume (Osterwieck (Harz) and Leipzig, 1912) appeared on p. 9, *Saturday Westminster Gazette* only.

²² I.e. the Isar Valley: for place names, see the note on nomenclature in Appendix II; and, for their locations, see the accompanying maps of DHL's travel routes.

now revised 'Paul Morel' as unfit for the circulating libraries (i. 421), Lawrence's aversion to England increased: 'I loathe the idea of England, and its enervation and misty miserable modernness' (i. 427).

Catholic Bavaria, on the other hand, was proving an alternative source of interest, and by 13 July Frieda and he had conceived the idea of walking south through the Tyrol via Innsbruck to Verona; they would live in Italy where Lawrence's meagre income as a writer stood a better chance of sufficing for their needs. They set out south on 5 August, but now intending to go by way of Mayrhofen east of Innsbruck²³ and with Lawrence nurturing the firm intention, following a recent suggestion from de la Mare, of writing further travel sketches to make enough for a volume.²⁴ From the first, Lawrence's letters from Bavaria had shown a keen interest in peasant customs (e.g. a miracle play and a Corpus Christi procession: i. 411, 416). As early as 10 June he had remarked on the surprising number of shrines in Bavaria (i. 417), and the wayside crucifixes must have seemed a strange expression of piety to an untravelling Englishman brought up as a Congregationalist. Stopping at a tiny chapel at Röhrlmoos on the evening of 6 August (after having struck out east from the Isartal and become lost en route to Glashütte), Lawrence had his attention riveted by its ex-voto paintings offered up by local farmers in thanks for divine intercession in various calamities. This became the subject of 'A Chapel Among the Mountains', and his and Frieda's spending the night in a nearby hay-hut served for the companion piece.

Lawrence indicates in the 'Chapel' sketch that it was written at Glashütte – where he and Frieda walked the next morning and rested till leaving by bus in the afternoon. He would scarcely have had time to write both sketches at Glashütte, so they were probably finished (or even entirely written) en route to or at Mayrhofen – where they stayed 9–26 August, also making excursions into nearby valleys. Edward Garnett's son, David, who joined Lawrence and Frieda at Mayrhofen about 18 August (i. 440, 442) and was to give the two sketches their first publication in 1930 (discussed below), recalled in the preface watching Lawrence writing 'on the squared foreign paper'.²⁵ The

²³ *Letters*, i. 430; and see Explanatory note on 91:7.

²⁴ De la Mare had commended the sketches as 'excellent' in a letter to Garnett of c. 1 July 1912 (quoted in *Letters*, i. 424 n. 1). DHL told de la Mare on 4 August that he had 'written five German sketches in all' (i. 431). As the events described in 'A Chapel Among the Mountains' and 'A Hay-Hut Among the Mountains' had not yet taken place, the fifth must have been a travel essay, probably a Bavarian one (although conceivably another Waldbroöl one), since lost.

²⁵ 'A Reminiscence' in *Love Among the Haystacks & Other Pieces*, ed. David Garnett (1930), p. x.

autograph manuscript of 'A Chapel Among the Mountains' survives (Roberts E66a, at YU), but that of 'A Hay-Hut Among the Mountains' does not. E66a, however, is on nearly transparent writing-pad paper, 25.4 x 20 cm: Lawrence had used very similar but not identical paper for letters in March and April 1912 when he was still in England.²⁶ He may have purchased more and have had some left in August. In a letter of 19 August Lawrence recounted the events in the two sketches but without echoing their wording; and in a letter of 2 September he commented: 'I've done [i.e. written] absolutely nothing lately' (i. 446). Thus the sketches were probably written before 18 August: it seems likely they were completed before David Garnett's arrival (although he may have seen Lawrence working on the 'Hay-Hut' sketch), and unlikely that Lawrence did much sustained writing while the party was travelling (26 August–4 September). In any case, these two sketches with a third (i. 447) were sent to de la Mare for the *Westminster Gazette* on 5 September 1912 from Riva on Lake Garda, the day after Lawrence and Frieda arrived there, having walked from Mayrhofen over the Pfitscher Joch to Sterzing and then, after a few days, gone by train to Riva.²⁷ The third article was probably 'Christs in the Tirol' whose subject matter comes from the same trip. An autograph manuscript with this title (Roberts E81.5a, at UT) is on paper which Lawrence used in letters from 30 August to 16 September.²⁸ As the sketch refers to 'these painted shrines on the Lake Garda' (229:8), it must have been written on 4 or 5 September,²⁹ but this first version was not published till 1933.

However, Lawrence completely rewrote this sketch; it became the quite distinct version, 'Christs in the Tyrol' (with the anglicised spelling of Tyrol), printed in the *Westminster Gazette* and *Saturday Westminster* on 22 March

²⁶ Paper types h, j and l (which vary from 25.125 to 25.2 cm in height) in Table 1, Helen Baron, 'Sons and Lovers: The Surviving Manuscripts from Three Drafts Dated by Paper Analysis', *Studies in Bibliography*, xxxviii (1985), 324–6. This nearly transparent pad paper, like h, j and l, has 26 very fine lines per page and no side margin, but its top margin does not slope and is slightly closer to the top of the leaf (22–3 mm, varying). It was probably from another printing and guillotining. There are no extant letters on squared paper written by DHL at Mayrhofen; Garnett's memory may date from his visit at Icking (c. 1–2 August, i. 428).

DHL revised the sketch in manuscript in July 1914 (see below). The possibility remains, but is unlikely given the paper and the style of writing, that E66a dates from then – i.e. that he completely rewrote, discarding the earlier version.

²⁷ See Appendix II for details of the walks.

²⁸ Sheets of shiny paper, 33.5 x 42.3 cm, vertically folded to form leaves 33.5 x c. 21.15 cm, no watermark and probably obtained in Italy. The essay is on 6 leaves written on one side only.

²⁹ I.e. unless the third article sent to de la Mare was the lost German travel sketch: see footnote 24. It is unlikely that DHL would have referred to the only other known writing – the short story 'Once—!' – as an 'article' (Letters, i. 447): see *Love Among the Haystacks and Other Stories*, ed. John Worthen (Cambridge, 1987).

1913 (again, identically) and reprinted in *Phoenix*. This state is subsequent to MS (E81.5a): the *Westminster* printings follow revised readings in MS, not its original deleted readings. Lawrence probably used it as a rough draft from which to copy and adapt, removing a whimsical digression about Austria, further dramatising his encounter with the Bavarian crucifix and adding new material. He may have rewritten immediately or, possibly, after a request for changes from Spender: the latter case would help explain the six-month delay between composition of the first version and publication. (This second manuscript is unlocated.) There is no mention in the extant correspondence of proofs of 'Christs in the Tyrol', but it is likely that the newspaper followed its normal practice and sent them. The alternative explanation – that E81.5a served as setting-copy and that the *Westminster Gazette* version is the result of extensive alterations in proof – is very unlikely.³⁰ Lawrence was not yet an established author who could expect this luxury. The superseded first version is printed here in Appendix I; its publishing history is described below.

These articles set in the Tyrol mark an extension of tonal range in Lawrence's travel sketches: in the first two, the affectionate self-parodying of the travellers' plight (Frieda appears as 'Anita') avoids the novelettish element of 'Hail in the Rhine-Land', and the effort of concentration called up by Lawrence's attempt to understand the psychological origins of the ex-voto paintings³¹ provides a more securely impersonal stance than had the rather self-conscious distancing he had tried out in 'French Sons of Germany'. He had probably been trying to strike an easy accord with his intended readers after his race-philosophical excursus in 'The English and the Germans'. The new confidence is also evident in both versions of 'Christs in the Tirol'. Once again Catholic religious artefacts, wayside crucifixes, provided a steadying focus for interpretation: his need to understand the fascination with pain and death crowds out the obligatory overtures to his audience. Condescending humour is at a minimum and his few attempts to relate the crucifixes to familiar English experience are half-hearted.³²

It is clear from 'Meeting Among the Mountains', a poem Lawrence wrote while at Mayrhofen about seeing a crucifix and a bullock-wagon driver, and

³⁰ E81.5a has no copy-editing marks. The *Westminster Gazette* version was anthologised in *The Portable D. H. Lawrence*, ed. Diana Trilling (New York, 1947).

³¹ Witnessed in the two sections marked by revision, one heavy, in E66a, pp. 8 and 14; see Explanatory notes on 31:18 and 34:8. The revisions however may date from 1914.

³² E.g. 233:6–8, 47:27–9.

from the much later account of the same experience in *Mr Noon*,³³ that his sensitivity towards the crucifixes was heightened by the 'sickening misery' (i. 440) surrounding the breakdown of Frieda's marriage – for which he had much responsibility. Obliquely in the novel and more directly in stanzas 10–11 of the poem, Lawrence identifies the driver with Ernest Weekley, whom he looked 'extraordinarily like' (ii. 154). But this identification is only transferred from the far stronger and more important one of the Christ with Weekley: in the poem the Christ has 'awful eyes . . . that look/ Full in my own' (stanza 7); and in the novel the Christ's 'dark look [of] torture, and hate' makes Gilbert Noon see 'clearly Everard's [i.e. Weekley's] black, helpless eyes of hate, bottomless hate'.³⁴ In the two versions of the essay on the crucifixes and in the rewriting for *Twilight in Italy* (as 'The Crucifix Across the Mountains', detailed below), the seated Christ in the Pfitscher Tal is ascribed (in chronological order): an 'almost low hate', an 'almost criminal look of hate and misery', and as being 'integral with utter hatred' (232:2, 46:25–6, 99:24). Weekley's histrionic declarations in letters of his preparedness to sacrifice everything – even to be physically 'tortured' for Frieda, if it would save his marriage³⁵ – fed into Lawrence's deepening interpretation of the Christs as men (rather than gods) granted a self-consciousness of dying in the flesh without experiencing the compensating awareness of heavenly release. The Alpine Christs dramatised, in a shocking way for Lawrence, the consequences of self-abnegation in the service of a spiritual ideal – a condition which he had already identified as essentially English.

The Italian essays of 1913

After finding accommodation on the western side of Lake Garda at Villa (near Gargnano) Lawrence and Frieda moved there on 18 September 1912, remaining for almost seven months. This first, sustained experience of Italy – a country which was to have a profoundly stimulating effect on Lawrence's thinking and writing – became the subject of three essays with the series title, 'By the Lago di Garda', written during the winter and early spring and

³³ *English Review*, xvi (February 1914), 306–7; *Mr Noon* 253–4. (This is not the crucifix in the Klamm (gorge, 96:14): see Appendix II.)

³⁴ *Mr Noon* 253:17, 30. Frieda misread 'The brown eyes black with misery and hate' in the poem (stanza 7) as belonging to the peasant rather than, as they do, to the Christ. Harry T. Moore, who reported the reading, did not query it (*The Intelligent Heart: The Story of D. H. Lawrence*, New York, 1955, pp. 128–9); and this has misled others (e.g. *Complete Poems*, ii. 1010).

³⁵ *Letters*, i. 475; cf. *Mr Noon* 253:27–8.

published by the *English Review* in September 1913 (xv, pp. 202–34), after Lawrence had corrected proofs in mid-August. The series title on the autograph manuscript (Roberts E294.5a), which served as setting-copy for the *English Review*, is in Lawrence's hand; he numbered and titled the three essays: 'I./ The Spinner and the Monks.', 'II./ The Lemon Gardens of the Signor di P.' and 'III./ The Theatre.'³⁶

However it is unclear exactly when he wrote them. Increasingly anxious about his worsening financial position (i. 522, 526, 529), Lawrence had laid aside on or soon after 11 March 1913 the novel which he had been working on since early January and which he considered 'great – so new, so really a stratum deeper than I think anybody has ever gone' (i. 501, 526). This was 'The Insurrection of Miss Houghton' which he felt 'nobody will ever dare to publish' (i. 526); it was to become *The Lost Girl*. In its place, he began 'The Sisters' – 'absolutely impeccable – as far as morals go' (i. 526); he had written 46 pages by 22 March (i. 530).³⁷ His first extant reference to the essays is in a letter of 25 March 1913 to his sister Ada: 'You might send those MS articles to the Editor of the *English Review*' (i. 533). The offhand reference suggests that she had already received the articles and mentioned them in a letter to Lawrence – meaning that he must have finished them by at latest c. 18 or 19 March. If he had himself already sent them to the *Westminster Gazette* or another publication (or to de la Mare again, as he had done with earlier sketches) he could have given Ada's address for their return. A letter of 10 February shows that the *English Review* had recently approached him to write an article on 'modern German poetry' (i. 513), and this could have led to his suggestion to Ada. The *English Review* was able to print longer articles than the *Westminster Gazette*; it had published four of Lawrence's stories, more than a dozen poems and two reviews since its establishment in 1908.³⁸

He may have worked on the 'Lago di Garda' essays for some time. The evidence for their dating is some close similarities of phrasing in the third essay, 'The Theatre', and a letter of 17 January 1913 describing an Italian

³⁶ He paginated them individually (1–8, 1–10, 1–8), repeating the series title on the first page of each. At the top of p. 1 of the first essay there has been added in pencil in an unknown hand: 'Italian Studies/ By. D. H. Lawrence'. Evidently an editorial title and used in the *English Review* printing, it has not been adopted. There also appears the printer's stamp of Richard Clay and Sons, dated 'IN/ 29 JUL. 1913'; and also in pencil in another unknown hand 'English Review/ September.' The pages have spike holes and there is galley numbering in green ink and pencil.

³⁷ Much rewritten, it would become *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love*. DHL was also correcting galley proofs of *Sons and Lovers* as they arrived (5 February–3 March: *Letters*, i. 512, 522).

³⁸ For details, see Roberts C2–C7, C8.2–C9 and C14; and see footnote 143.

performance of *Hamlet* which he had attended the previous evening;³⁹ and Lawrence copied a sentence in Italian into the second essay, 'The Lemon Gardens of the Signor di P.', from an article in *La Perseveranza*, a Milanese newspaper, of 20 January.⁴⁰ Other evidence that the essays were not written in the chronological order of the depicted events is provided by the flowers mentioned in both the first essay, 'The Spinner and the Monks', and a letter of 10 February: 'primroses everywhere' and 'lilac-coloured crocuses' (same wording: 55:15, 23-4; i. 514). Further, because the third essay presupposes knowledge of the Signor di P. given in the second (and because the essays were numbered consecutively by Lawrence), it is unlikely this version was begun much before 10 February. The financial motive mentioned above, together with the fact that the 'Lago di Garda' essays are all on the same paper as a letter of Lawrence's of 22 March 1913,⁴¹ point to a date of composition of mid-March, although an earlier date from c. 10 February cannot be ruled out. If mid-March is correct, the letter of 17 January especially, but also that of 10 February and the use of the newspaper article, suggest that Lawrence was at least making notes⁴² which he would work up

³⁹ Cf. *Letters*, i. 505: 'when [Hamlet] came forward whispering – "Essere – o non essere," I thought my ears would fall off. When the gravedigger holds up a skull and says "Ecco, signore! Questo cranio è quel –" – I almost protested. Hamlet addressed as Signore! – No – it was too much' and 'the King is always the contadino, or the weedy, weedy old father – also born for the part' with 77:5-6 and 76:5-7. See also Explanatory note on 69:16 for the deleted manuscript reading at 78:14 which matches the letter.

⁴⁰ 'Clubs e costumi conviviali inglesi' [Clubs and English Socialising Practices] (pp. 2-3) draws distinctions between the English and Italian national characters. It may have been drawn to his attention by his teacher of Italian at Villa: see Explanatory notes on 109:18 and 60:34.

⁴¹ To Edward Garnett, *Letters*, i. 529; the financial aspect might explain such concessions to audience as: 'that wonderful warmth and cosy tenderness that makes life rich in an English home' (70:30-1).

The paper is similar to that used for 'Christ in the Tirol' (see footnote 28) but dull and slightly rougher, suggesting it is from a different batch with slightly different constituents (Helen Baron runs the two kinds of paper together as paper type S in 'The Surviving Manuscripts', p. 326). The sheets have been torn in two making a leaf size of 34.0 x 21.1 cm; no watermark. (The paper of the letter to Garnett is 33.95 cm in height but this difference is probably not significant.)

DHL used this paper also for the short story 'The Overtone', previously dated conjecturally – there being no mention of it in extant letters – as spring 1924 (*St. Mawr and Other Stories*, ed. Brian Finney, Cambridge, 1983, pp. xxi-xxii). But DHL could have obtained the same paper on his next visit to Italy. In late November-early December 1913 at Fiascherino he read James Stephens' *The Crock of Gold* (1912) – a novel which, like DHL's story, also treats of Pan. His criticism of Stephens' account of 'the Great God Pan' (ii. 114) may have stimulated him to write the story, with subsequent treatments in Anthony Schofield in *The Rainbow* (February-May 1914; see *Rainbow* xxv-xxvi, lii) and 'Il Duro' in 1915 for *Twilight in Italy*: see Explanatory note on 177:34.

⁴² DHL may also have copied out the inscription on the Susanna Grillon painting in the 'Chapel' sketch while at the chapel: see Explanatory note on 33:3.